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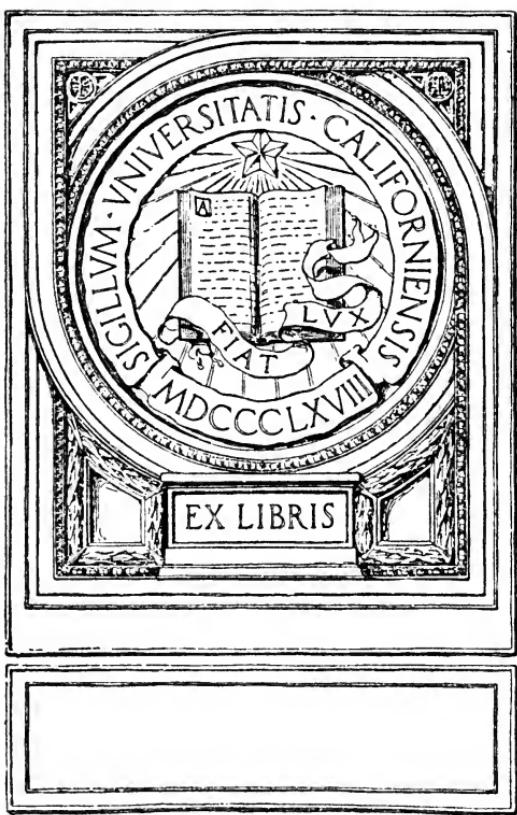
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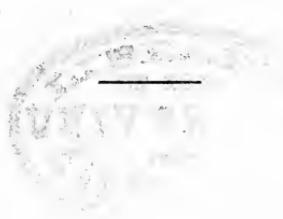
Our Nation's Peril

Social Ideals and Social Progress

BY

LEWIS G. JANES

Director of the Cambridge Conferences; former President of the Brooklyn Ethical Association; late Lecturer on Sociology and Civics in the School of Political Science, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Author of "Evolution of Morals," "Life as a Fine Art," "Cosmic Evolution as Related to Ethics," etc., etc.



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THE AMERICAN IDEAL.

"The Fathers who created the Republic . . . grasped not only the whole race of man then living, but they reached forward and seized upon the farthest posterity. They erected a beacon to guide their children and their children's children and the countless myriads who should inhabit the earth in other ages. Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants, and so they established these great self-evident truths, that when in the distant future some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, or none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxon white men were entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began, so that truth and justice and mercy and all the humane and Christian virtues might not be extinguished from the land: so that no man should thereafter dare to limit or circumscribe the great principles on which the temple of liberty was being built."

"Now, my countrymen, if you have been taught doctrines conflicting with the Declaration of Independence; if you have listened to suggestions which would take away from its grandeur and mutilate the fair symmetry of its proportions, . . . let me entreat you to come back. Return to the fountain whose waters spring close by the blood of the Revolution."—**ABRAHAM LINCOLN**,
Lewiston Speech, August, 1858.

OUR NATION'S PERIL:

SOCIAL IDEALS AND SOCIAL PROGRESS.

THE kinship of man to the lower animals is now a generally recognized deduction from the doctrine of evolution. The study of the *genus homo*, and of particular individuals included in the genus, now proceeds with due recognition and use of the comparative method. Not only has this method proved fruitful in the investigation of human anatomy and physiology, and in promoting a correct understanding of the physical attributes of man, it is also likely to be even more profitable in the study of his mental characteristics and his social impulses. We are beginning to see that man is essentially a social being, and that his vision of the world is largely tinged and modified by his past social experiences and those of his gregarious pre-human progenitors.

It is not altogether in the field of analogy, however, that the comparative method is fruitful in anthropological and sociological researches. The differences between man and his poor relations of the lower animal types are quite as interesting and instructive as the likenesses. If reversion to animal traits and conduct throws important light on the problems of criminal anthropology and degeneration in human societies, it is in quite another direction that we must turn for our explanation of those progressive social and individual tendencies which have raised man above the brute creation and inspired him to transform and regenerate himself and his world-environment.

Man, as far as we know, is the only animal capable of creating ideals—of projecting the synthetic imagination into the realm of future possibilities, and of erecting there beacon-lights which will guide and inspire him to higher and ever higher achievements.

He is the only animal that, by the exercise of intelligent volition, can determine his own conduct and direct his own activities to ideal ends. The lower animal types reach stages of statical adaptation to the world-environment beyond which they are never lifted save by the influence of artificial selection, under the direction of human intelligence. Man is the only conscious creature endowed with a nature infinitely progressive in its capabilities; and its chief difference from the nature of the lower animal types lies exactly in this point of its ability to formulate ideals and make them the object of its consecrated aspiration and effort. Living creatures below the human are forced up the scale of being mainly under the stress of physical necessities, by the operation of the law of natural selection, which finds its opportunity in the never-ceasing struggle for existence. While these influences are by no means relaxed in the experience of man, he is also led up the scale of being by the friendly hand of the ideals created by his synthetic imagination.

We should by no means be justified in inferring, however, that man's ideals constitute infallible guides in the improvement of social or individual conditions. They partake of the finiteness and fallibility of his human nature, and are more or less helpful and inspiring as they spring from greater or less degrees of intelligence, correct information, and consecrated moral purpose. It is even possible for these ideals to become wholly aberrant and misleading, and to promote social and individual degeneration, instead of progress. The study of these ideals, and of the conditions under which they are created and become dominant factors in the lives of men and of societies, is therefore of the highest import to the student of social conditions, as well as to the statesman, moral reformer and religious teacher. It is to this study, and to some of the practical conclusions that seem to flow from it, that this paper would invite attention.

As it relates to the individual life and character, the principle involved in our thesis is clearly recognized in the prescient saying: "As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he." Everywhere the founder of Christianity emphasizes the inner nature and purpose of the heart, rather than the outward act, as the criterion of character. While this is none the less strongly emphasized by the scientific psychology and sociology of the present day, they also affirm the importance of studying the motive, or ideal, in the light of its eventuation in the act and its consequences, in

order to correct the aberrations due to human ignorance and fallibility. In our relations to our fellow-men and to society, we are justly held responsible, not merely for sincerity of purpose and the consecration of will and effort towards its attainment, but also for an intelligent understanding of the results which necessarily flow from the courses of action which we are thus impelled to undertake.

It is not to the individual but to the social implications of the principle that I wish here especially to call attention. A brief reference to some of the wider and more general illustrations of the influence of social ideals on the trend of civilization and racial development may help to clear the way for a closer and more practical application of our thesis to the problems immediately before us for solution. Whatever may be our individual estimate of the nature of religion and the utility of religious beliefs, no thoughtful student of history can fail to recognize the potent influence of religious ideals in determining the destinies of the race. It is in the broader attitude of religion toward life, rather than in its special dogmas or ritual observances, that this influence is chiefly felt in moulding the character of social institutions.

The Oriental religions are generally pessimistic in their attitude toward the life that now is. Tacitly or implicitly, they assume that suffering and evil are such dominant and all-pervading factors in the very nature of a phenomenal existence that the only rational ideal for human aspiration is the attainment of a state which transcends the phenomenal, and in which supreme bliss is reached by the renunciation of all which makes life in this phenomenal world. This life, the orthodox Hindu says, is *Mâya*—real enough indeed as a fact of present experience, full of ignorance with its resulting pains and sorrows, but owing its reality in our consciousness to the fact that somehow the soul has become entangled in the mesh of material things, and is thereby blinded to its true nature. This veil of illusion can only be torn away by the attainment of a super-conscious state in which all sense of “I” and “Thou,” of a subjective world of mind and an objective world of matter, alike transitory and phenomenal, is utterly transcended. Brahminism, therefore, largely gives itself up to meditation and introspection, pays little heed to the improvement of material conditions, neglects or mortifies the flesh by ascetic observances, regards the celibate life as more holy than

that of wedlock, pays so little attention to statesmanship and the science of government that its social organism never rises out of the feudal condition until it has fallen a prey to one foreign invader after another, finally achieving its nearest approach to political unity and a common feeling of nationality under English rule. The development of the Caste system in India is the result of an attempt to avoid the stress of competition by the rigid segregation of industries and occupations, rather than by seeking a higher solution of the industrial problem through rational thought, persistent effort, and a normal process of unhampered evolution.

Buddhism was in some respects a natural reaction against the inertia and extreme bent toward introspection and metaphysical speculation illustrated in Brahminism, but it also is profoundly pessimistic as regards the present life. It views this earthly existence as a transitory process, full of pain and misery. It denies a permanent soul entity, and is silent as to the existence of a permanent Being behind the never-ceasing round of phenomenal change. Its Nirvâna, whether or not it implies absolute non-existence, is an escape from the consciousness of temporal conditions and the succession of re-incarnations, into a state so wholly different as to be indescribable in language, and only to be apprehended through experience. Buddhism, transplanted from its native soil, has doubtless largely misunderstood and misinterpreted the thought of its founder. Though on the whole it has given an ethical uplift to the nations where it has taken root, it has often been overgrown with superstitions, and has not been able to throw off the incubus of pessimism which was its inheritance.

Zoroastrianism and Judaism, in their earlier developed forms, though scarcely less pessimistic as regards the present conditions of earthly existence, are less mystical and metaphysical, and more objective in their visions of the future life. Both dream, as did the early Christian, of a regenerated earth, purified by fire, and inhabited by a race purged of sin and endowed with immortality. Here we have no vision of a state superconscious and indescribable, but of a world of conscious existence in a redeemed society, as a boon to the righteous. The greater objectivity of this ideal, and the hope for ultimate happiness on a regenerated earth, has doubtless been a large factor in maintaining the wonderful vitality of the Jew in spite of expatriation and persecution, and in preserving

the qualities of enterprise and commercial success both in the Jew and in the Parsi.

In the more invigorating atmosphere of Occidental life, the conception of the present state of existence has never been wholly pessimistic. The Greek and Roman rejoiced in bodily strength and beauty, and found enjoyment in conflict with the foe and the contest with the forces and inertia of the physical world. Even their barbaric games, the fierce contests of the arena, testify to a delight in life and in the exercise of the bodily powers which we do not find in the developed thought of the Orient. Plato, who voiced the highest thought of the Greek, described in his "Republic" his conception of an ideal earthly society. Aristotle also draws his picture of the perfect social state. Though neither Plato nor Aristotle dreamed of lifting the slave into citizenship, or of assuring to all an equality of social or industrial opportunity, the visions of both were hopeful of future possibilities in an earthly society, and were incentives to effort toward their realization. Both the Greek and the Roman, however, laid stress on custom, legislation and governmental authority as the means of social regeneration, rather than upon education and the transformation of individual character; and the political structures of both were ultimately wrecked on the rocks of imperialism and the supremacy of military power.

Christianity, mingling its primitive ethical and eschatological conceptions with the prevalent Pagan ideas, has at once held up the vision of an objective heaven, wherein the associations and some of the activities of the earthly life will be continued, and enforced the obligation of transforming human society, so as to build up the Kingdom of God on the earth. Adapting itself to varying racial and political conditions as none of the older religions were able to do, it has nowhere left a pure and unadulterated bequest of institutions inspired by the ideals of its founder. Its influence can only be traced as modified by local environments, and more or less distorted by varying racial and philosophical tendencies. The dominant ideals in the modern Christian and civilized world are rather national and local than ethical and universal. The love of individual liberty which characterizes the Teutonic peoples, conjoined to racial self-confidence, industrial and commercial enterprise seeking world-conquest for its opportunities, mingled with a poorly concealed contempt for weaker races, is modified by the local circumstances

under which it finds expression. In England and Holland the dominant ideals are those of commercial and industrial supremacy. In Germany, whether under the scholastic influence of the Hegelian philosophy, as Mr. Davidson surmises,¹ or not, the conception of a strong government under an imperial director has given the tendency of social evolution a somewhat different trend. In the United States the democratic spirit, so long our dominant ideal, is now struggling for supremacy with the commercial and money-making power which dominates the policy of the Mother Country.

In the light of historical investigation, it is not difficult to foresee the outcome of some of these tendencies in national life. Unrestrained by those religious influences which still constitute a distinct factor in the policy of the Latin peoples, the imperialism of Germany is drifting rapidly toward a form of State Socialism. Whether or not this tendency shall ultimately take a democratic rather than an autocratic trend, it will in either case rigidly constrain and inhibit individual freedom. The industrial conditions tending to this result are world-wide, and in so far as the Latin nations become emancipated from the restraining influence of the Roman Church, we may anticipate a similar though somewhat more tardy development of the socialistic policy in them. Though England and the United States, more than any other nations, have felt the movement of the democratic spirit, it is not doubtful that influences are now strongly at work in these countries, which threaten to impel them in the same direction. The concentration of wealth in the hands of a few great exploiters of industrial enterprise gives them a power in legislation and the direction of public policies which enables them to control the machinery of government, and practically to annul the influence of the masses of the people; while the demands of commercial greed, seeking for extended markets, encourage the spirit of conquest and military domination, thus creating the machinery which the advocates of State Socialism have only to seize and use. That the masters of commerce and manufacture, the promoters of combinations and trusts, the millionaires who seek the Senatorial toga and positions of power and responsibility in the State, are blind to the certain outcome of these tendencies does not render them less clear to the student of sociological conditions.

¹ "The Task of the Twentieth Century," a lecture by Thomas Davidson.

The situation may be summed up in the statement that the ideals now dominant in our western world are economic and materialistic rather than ethical and idealistic; that under the influence of such ideals a scarcely veiled egoism dominates even our avowed altruistic impulses, and threatens to transform democracy itself into an instrument for undermining personal liberty, destroying individual opportunity, and sowing everywhere the seeds of disintegration and decay in the heart of our boasted civilization. If it is said that these are no new influences, that they are illustrative of the same old forces and tendencies that have existed in human societies since the world began, the fact certainly must be admitted. Like self-willed children, the great nations of the present day seem bound to attain wisdom, if indeed they ever do attain it, through the hard school of personal experience, rather than by a thoughtful appreciation of the lessons taught by the experience of past generations. But with the machinery of modern civilization, it is at once the hope and the serious concern of the thoughtful student of social conditions that progress toward the inevitable result must be vastly more rapid than it has ever been before in the world's history. Will it be sufficiently rapid to arrest the attention of the wisest and most thoughtful leaders and teachers of the people, through them to create nobler ideals in our social, national and industrial life, and so assure a reversal of these tendencies toward social degeneracy?

Since the advent of Christianity, there have been in many ages great thinkers and large-hearted lovers of their kind, from Saint Augustine to Sir Thomas More, Edward Bellamy and William Dean Howells, who have formulated their visions of a perfect life and endeavored to popularize ideals in harmony with that religion to which Christendom gives a formal lip-service. These ideals have been of real utility in revealing the defects in the existing social order, and in stimulating efforts for its betterment. They have failed to become potent in determining the actual trend of social evolution because they have built upon speculative and metaphysical conceptions of the nature of man as a social being, rather than upon a scientific understanding of the conditions with which they have attempted to deal. It is only within very recent times, indeed, that anything like a scientific study of man and society has been attempted, and the results of this study even now have hardly permeated the most intelligent stratum of

modern society. Sociology is just beginning to take its place as a university study, and its method is often far from scientific. The discussion of *a priori* theories and speculations often largely supplants serious efforts to investigate and comprehend the life of man as revealed in existing societies and as related to his historical past. Yet the wisest students of society are convinced that the method which has been so fruitful of beneficent results on the material plane of life may be made no less fruitful in its application to social and economic problems.

Hitherto men have spun their social theories, very much as they have their theological and philosophical notions, out of their inner consciousness, and have looked for the fulfilment of their social ideals by revolutionary methods. Revolution, indeed, often comes as a result of this unscientific method of procedure, but the ideals of the Revolutionists are never fully achieved. The communistic agitator of the present day is often an idealist, filled with the noblest altruistic impulses; but he would transform society by a violent disregard of the most fundamental qualities of human nature, knocking away the very ladder by which man has climbed out of barbarism and animalism and disregarding the principle of social justice which apportions rewards according to deserts, in the vain attempt to establish an impossible and undesirable ideal of social equality. He would make man's desires, or his assumed physical and intellectual necessities, the measure of his right to the use of the earth and the products of industry, rather than the quality and faithfulness of his own service; thereby perpetuating the conditions of infancy in the adult life of the world, and creating societies of grown-up babes rather than of manly and self-reliant men and women. The social ideal of the communist, which aims primarily at equality, if it became dominant, would produce a dead-level of mediocrity in character and attainment, a statical condition in society which would inhibit progress and lead inevitably to retrogression. The production of variations is the essential condition of all evolution — the necessary *pou sto* for the operation of natural selection, volitional effort, or any other imaginable evolutionary agency; and this would be seriously retarded by a communistic or socialistic régime. However exalted may be the aims of the advocates of the communistic propaganda and the abolition of private property, the scientific sociologist must regard the ideals which they hold up for the admiration and

aspiration of the toiling poor as distinctly reactionary and mischievous.

The scientific student of society begins by ascertaining the facts of human evolution and observing the natural trend of social progress. He recognizes the divine law of evolution in every step of the way, even in the struggle for existence which marks its earlier stages and is nowhere entirely absent. Instead of endeavoring to stem the tide of social evolution, which has been steadily away from a homogeneous society in which all perform like functions and occupy relatively identical positions, toward a society more and more heterogeneous in its structure, wherein individuals perform functions more and more individualized and unlike, he endeavors to educate the will and intelligence to conform to this natural order and tendency, thereby avoiding the friction, suffering and pain which always accompany resistance to Nature's processes. He perceives that perfect social integration can be achieved neither by anarchical independence nor by the communistic dependence of the individual on society; but rather by the mutual interdependence of completely individualized social units, each of whom renders to society the highest possible service, receiving therefor a reward proportionate to the faithfulness, skill and intelligence which are combined in his work.

Social Science, like all other sciences, does not rest with the mere collection, verification and collation of facts derived from the study of man in his relations with his fellows; it searches beneath these facts for the general principles which underlie and account for them. These principles, when scientifically discovered and verified, are regarded as *laws of evolution*, and deductive inferences logically drawn from them are strictly justifiable according to the scientific method. The discovery of such laws has always been regarded as the crowning achievement of science in other fields of research. That similar laws are revealed by the scientific investigation of social phenomena is the claim of the evolutionary sociologist. Having clearly recognized these general principles underlying all actual progressive tendencies in society, the deduction from them of rational rules of conduct is the only reasonable and genuinely scientific mode of procedure. By this method only can correct ideals be formulated, and human volition be trained to co-operate with Nature in a normal process of evolution, instead of working blindly, by empirical experimentation,

and thus producing abnormal conditions, to escape from which violent and revolutionary methods are often necessary.

The outcome of all these normal processes which tend toward the goal of perfection, whether in the lower phases of cosmic and biological evolution, or in the development of man and society, is *fulness of life*—the free and unhampered exercise of every natural faculty under conditions of opportunity most favorable to this end. Natural selection operates only to preserve such variations as directly serve this purpose. The destruction and atrophy of organs and functions in the individual organism, of individuals and species in the biological world, or of nations and societies in the higher arena of man's social relationships, result always from a negative, never from the positive, operation of this law—from the simple *withdrawal* of natural selection rather than from its direct destructive activity. The “unfit” must needs suffer by reason of their want of adaptation to environing conditions, and are therefore mercifully eliminated when the conflict becomes actually hopeless. Nature thus always seems to be working by the most effectual methods toward a beneficent end. When, however, false political and social ideals induce us to force upon undeveloped races or individuals a struggle for which they are not prepared by the slow processes of normal evolution, the inevitable result is the destruction of such races and individuals, not their elevation into a fuller and larger life. Our artificial attempts to civilize and Christianize the lower races are often tragical failures instead of successes, from the lack of knowledge of this important natural law. Nowhere is this result more pathetically evident than in the Hawaiian Islands, whose native inhabitants have been repeatedly decimated by vices and diseases introduced by contact with our so-called higher civilization, together with oppressive and violent changes in their habits and conditions of life, for insistence upon which their oppressors will not be held guiltless in the great ethical accounting, from which neither individuals nor nations can escape.

Nature always seeks her ends, by preference, through the processes of gradual modification and orderly growth, rather than by the production of violent and revolutionary changes. We readily recognize this fact in the ordinary range of biological evolution, but not so readily, perhaps, in contemplating the great cosmic changes that have antedated and accompanied the growth of living forms, or in that subsequent societary development in

which the human will is a co-operating factor. Cataclysms, indeed, are sometimes necessary; but whenever they occur they bring about a return to something like the original chaos, and compel Nature to begin her evolutionary processes over again. It is the "silent perseverance" of Nature which promotes the surest and most rapid progress. Violent upheavals of the existing order involve the loss of much valuable time, which is saved by constant and orderly obedience to Nature's upbuilding laws. However strongly, therefore, our ideals may shame and rebuke our actual achievements, they should be approximated by evolutionary and not by revolutionary methods.

In the application of the scientific method to social and governmental problems, the formation of correct ideals is a legitimate and most important step. Critics like the late Professor Huxley, Mr. Benjamin Kidd, and Professor W. G. Sumner, who assume that such ideals necessarily antagonize the operations of cosmic law, render a questionable service to sociological discussions. Professor Sumner asserts, for example, that social ideals are not discoverable through experience; that they are creations of the speculative reason acting wholly on *a priori* data. Speaking of the doctrine of civil liberty, he declares that "it is not a scientific fact; it is not in the order of Nature." It is a dogma "which never had an historical foundation."¹ The only evidence which can be adduced in behalf of his assertion is to be found in the admitted fact that social ideals have nowhere yet been completely realized in the historical development of society; and this, I suppose, is what the learned Professor really meant to assert. Is it a correct inference from this fact that such ideals, and the doctrine of civil liberty in particular, "have no historical foundation"? To the student of the scientific method, it would certainly appear otherwise.

The chief glory of natural science is that synthetizing and prophetic quality which enables its disciples, by the investigation of past tendencies and existing facts, to discover the normal trend and direction of Nature's processes, to formulate the general principles or laws of growth, and thereby to reach forward to new discoveries. In this manner science has proceeded in its progressive conquest of the laws and forces of the material world. "The scientific use of the imagination" has been

¹ *Popular Science Monthly*.

recognized even by Professor Huxley as a most important factor in scientific procedure.¹ This is by no means mere *a priori* guess-work; it is the projection of the trained reason, acting upon a synthesis of materials derived from the investigation of observed facts and discovered laws and forces, into the region of the unknown. Watt, noticing the action of steam escaping from a kettle, and therefrom deducing inferences that led to the invention of the steam-engine; Newton, regarding the falling apple, and therefrom receiving the suggestion that led to the discovery of the law of gravitation; Adams and LeVerrier, independently noting the perturbations of Uranus, reasoning that the cause must be found in the existence of an unseen planet, computing its position in space and finding it there with their telescopes; Agassiz, reconstructing an animal of an extinct species by the study of a single bone:—these are all examples of the prophetic and deductive method in scientific research which supplements the inductive empiricism of an earlier stage of scientific progress, and lies at the foundation of all notable advancement in our knowledge of Nature and comprehension of her stable and everlasting laws. Social ideals and the laws of society's development may be formulated and discovered by precisely analogous methods. While, in the past, efforts in this direction have doubtless been largely speculative and metaphysical, it is the hope and promise of better things in the future that they may become strictly scientific.

In order that this may be accomplished, the student of sociological phenomena must be thoroughly grounded in the scientific method as it is revealed in the study of the physical and biological sciences. He must carry the results of these investigations, as well as their method, into the higher realms of psychology and sociology. By the great masters of evolutionary science, society is regarded as an organism, possessing functions and attributes corresponding to those of the individual organism. Mr. Spencer notes, however, that society differs from the higher individual organisms in the fact that no social sensorium is discoverable. It is the sensorium, which feels and thinks and wills, that constitutes the ultimate goal of all evolutionary processes—the criterion of judgment as to their nature and trend. In organic structures, therefore, the unit or cell exists for the sake of the completed organism, while in society the

¹ See Essay in "Lay Sermons."

social combination exists for the sake of the individual, or social unit. It is the individual only who struggles, suffers and enjoys. Societies and institutions are to be approved or condemned by their relative utility in conducting to the freedom, happiness, opportunity and completeness of life in the individual. The founder of Christianity recognized this truth when he declared that "the Sabbath is made for man, not man for the Sabbath." So all institutions, scientific sociology affirms, are made for man, not man for institutions.

Notwithstanding this obvious and important difference, essentially psychological in its character, the resemblances between social and organic structures are sufficiently evident and noteworthy to render the knowledge of biological laws most instructive, if not absolutely essential, to the political economist and sociologist. Both biology and sociology treat of the phenomena of life; both involve psychological as well as merely physical conditions. In the natural order of the sciences, the one leads up to the other by an inevitable sequence. Whether we agree that a society may properly be termed an organism or not, there is a similarity in the processes of growth between biological and sociological structures which is noteworthy and most suggestive. Inorganic structures grow by simple accretion, or addition to their bulk. Their growth is involuntary, and is chiefly determined by external forces and conditions. Organic substances, on the contrary, grow by intussusception, a process of waste and repair which directly affects the individual cell or structural unit throughout the internal constitution of the organism. In this respect the growth of societies resembles that of organic structures: it is a sort of vital chemistry. The individual in his relation to society resembles the cell in the biological organism. The death of individuals and the birth and growth of others to fill their places in society proceed in like manner with the process of waste and repair in organic structures. "Human institutions," says Taine, "like living bodies, are made and unmade by their own forces; and their health passes away, or their cure is effected, by the sole effect of their nature and situation." We are beginning to see that where the growth of political societies is forced by mere accretion, as by the external compulsion of conquest or an unassimilated immigration of alien elements, the addition is a source of weakness instead of strength, a disintegrating instead of an integrating factor.

In the biological structure, the attractive forces which bind atoms into cells, and cells into an organic unity, are molecular and physical. In the sociological structure, they are functional and psychical. Herein, I think, lies the explanation of that difference between these structures which Mr. Spencer and other writers have recognized. As to the essential nature of those forces which we call attractive,—e. g., gravitation, cohesion, and chemical affinity, we really know nothing. We know these forces only through their observed effects; and their "laws," which we deduce from repeated observations of these effects, are merely our subjective classifications of observed recurrent phenomena. In regard to sociological phenomena, however, we have an additional means of information. We can study the attractive forces which bind societies together, not only in the secondary relation of their observed effects, but also in their primary relation as movements of our own thought. Affection and self-interest are thus seen to be the attractive forces which bind society together; and these forces are directed and made steadily operative solely by individual volition. Therefore it is that on its psychical side—the side directly involved of necessity in all processes of attempted social amelioration or change—society is subordinated to the individual, the structure to the unit or monad, instead of the reverse, as in the evolution of biological organisms.

Recognizing this important psychological law, the conclusion is logical and inevitable that all actual and permanent expansion and integration of societies must proceed by the voluntary co-operative action of individuals. The statesman or social reformer who would work in harmony with the tendencies and laws of Nature, must therefore direct his efforts toward convincing the judgments and converting the motives and moral natures of individuals, rather than toward forcibly changing the customs and institutions of society by legal enactment, military domination, or a majority vote under the white heat of an emotional political campaign. These customary methods of attempting to effect social changes may be of some service as educational influences, inciting thought in the unreflecting, but as means of finally solving and disposing of social or political problems, they are lamentable failures.¹ It is the too exclusive dwelling on biological

¹ The condition of the Negro, and of the social problem generally, in our Southern States, a generation after the edict of emancipation, furnishes significant testimony to the truth of this principle. It is significant, also, that in profiting by the results of the "shot-gun" policy in Hawaii we no longer oppose it in the Carolinas.

analogies by students of society which leads to socialistic and communistic conclusions to be enforced by the militant power of the State. Here psychology should come in as a corrective, showing that man, through his voluntary action, is constantly reacting on his environment and re-creating it in the image of his own ideals.

The family was the earliest of all social combinations, and constitutes the true type of every phase of societary development. The family is based on the marriage relation, and all true marriage rests on the uncoerced consent of the contracting parties. As this consent is more perfect and complete, recognizing not only physical and emotional, but also intellectual, moral and spiritual attractions, so is the union more permanent and satisfying. Conversely, in the degree to which this union is merely conventional and formal, effected by external compulsion, whether of physical force, constrained ignorance, or the artificial bias of law, custom or ecclesiastical policy, in the same degree the relation becomes false and adulterous.

The same principle holds good in every stage of social combination, however complex and widely extended it may be. It is a sound political philosophy, justified by scientific sociological principles, which is enunciated in the affirmation of the Declaration of Independence, that "all just government rests on the consent of the governed." This is as true in Cuba, Hawaii and the Philippines as it is in Massachusetts; it is as true of the older monarchical and aristocratic systems as it is of a democratic-republican form of government. While the evolutionary sociologist recognizes that different forms of government are adapted to varying degrees of culture and social development, he also knows that an autocracy which does not rest upon the actual consent of the governed, which finds no response in the hearts of the people, but is maintained solely by military compulsion, is a tyranny, unstable in its foundations, unadapted to its social environment, and destined to early destruction by peaceful or violent means.¹

While recognizing the relativity of ethical principles and institutional forms, and the consequent adaptation of different

¹ The recent attempts to discredit the American principle in academic circles in the interest of colonial expansion (*vide* recent articles and published addresses by Professors John Bach McMaster, H. H. Powers, F. Spencer Baldwin, and others) indicate a lamentable failure to grasp the scientific principles underlying the whole problem of government and civil rights. See Appendix, II.

forms of government to varying stages of individual intelligence and social progress, the ideal form of society and ethics, as the ultimate type of social and individual evolution, should always be kept in view by the sociologist, legislator, and social reformer, else they will be lost in a maze of empirical experimentation, as fatal to wise practical leadership as would be the adoption of the panaceas of closet-philosophers and *a priori* theorists. These ideals are discovered through experience and historical investigation, in strict accordance with the scientific method; but they can only be permanently approximated as we lift the masses of the people by training and culture — physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual — to higher levels of life and thought.

The object of the social reformer should be to accomplish the renovation of society, and to secure this end with the least possible friction and delay. Both these results are attained by the method of evolution; both are retarded and thwarted by anarchical violence and the compulsion of militant methods. The rational individualism of the evolutionary ideal must be sharply distinguished from the destructive anarchism that aims at sudden and violent revolution. Here, too, Biology offers us a wise suggestion. Galton's law of "reversion toward mediocrity" shows that biological changes which are suddenly effected by artificial selection and forcible deviation from the main trend of natural evolutionary tendency are not permanent. They last only as long as the organisms are kept constantly under the stress of the artificial conditions that have produced them. When left to the unrestrained operation of purely natural forces, they speedily revert to their original status. This is also the case in social evolution whenever the conditions are artificially forced in advance of the intellectual culture and functional development of the masses of the people. As new social ideals can only very slowly supplant those which are ingrained by ages of custom and prejudice, the aim of the social reformer should be to stimulate thought by example and object-lesson rather than to compel the sudden alteration of habits, and thus to build along the great lines of natural evolutionary tendency, making use of those elemental social, moral and biological forces which are the most effective helpers toward the desired end.

If, now, I have been fortunate in the presentation of my subject, certain points should be made clear by the previous discussion :

1. That man is the only animal capable of creating ideals.
2. That these ideals become the most important factors in social evolution and the building of individual character.
3. That, since they spring from the synthetic imagination of finite man, they will lead him aright or astray as they conform more or less perfectly to the laws of social evolution.
4. That by the application of the scientific method to sociological investigations, these laws are discoverable, and ideals in harmony with them may be created for our guidance.
5. That permanent social changes can only be effected by convincing the judgments and enlightening the consciences of individual men and women. The permanent integration of societies can only be assured by the uncoerced consent of the governed.

If the principles herein laid down are sound, reasonable, and based on legitimate scientific data, certain helpful inferences relating to important problems now before us for solution may be logically deduced from them. As has already been intimated, voluntary co-operation, instead of an enforced communistic regulation and regimentation of society by legislative enactment, constitutes the social and industrial ideal prophetically outlined by the study of the principles underlying the entire process of ethical and social evolution. The success of efforts toward the attainment of this ideal will depend on both the intelligence and the moral attainment of the individual citizens in a given community. The liberation of the individual — his increasing freedom to secure the satisfactions consequent upon the normal and harmonious exercise of all his faculties — will proceed *pari passu* with an increasing interdependence between individuals, and between each and the social organism. The processes of social differentiation and integration go on hand in hand. As occupations become more diversified, the individual acquires greater skill in his special vocation; he produces a greater amount of wealth, and thus contributes more to the well-being of society, as well as, under a properly regulated labor-system, to his own well-being. Fewer hours are required for labor as the processes become differentiated and relatively automatic. More time may be given to individual culture, social intercourse, and the service of the Commonwealth — to the development, in short, of that fulness of life which constitutes the ideal of a perfect manhood.

In wisely serving himself, the laborer is thus at the same time rendering a greater service to society. This, by a natural reaction, inures again to his own moral and spiritual development. Egoism is thus purged of its excesses, and made to promote the general well-being. In the proper equilibration of egoistic and altruistic motives, all conflict between these motives ceases. In wisely serving his neighbor, man renders the truest service to himself, and *vice versa*. Thus society integrates by a natural process of growth, forming a real Brotherhood of Consent, instead of a militant organization, consolidated by external coercion. The condition of society prefigured in this ideal is one in which each individual shall have full opportunity for the development of his whole nature, a direct interest in the products of his labor commensurate with the amount of intelligence, faithfulness and skill which he puts into his work, and to which each shall therefore freely contribute his noblest and most conscientious service.¹

In its political and governmental aspects, this ideal indicates that the true scientific method of national growth is by the voluntary federation of Commonwealths, to each of which is guaranteed local autonomy and self government, based on the consent of the governed. This is the true American method outlined in the Declaration of Independence. This noble ideal of our Fathers is utterly opposed to the Old World policy of armed conquest and the maintenance of vast Colonial possessions under military domination. The government of an alien population by rulers in whose choice they have no part, and under laws in the making of which they have no representation, is the very essence of imperialism — the very antithesis of democratic-republicanism. Reversion to that method in America or its outlying possessions would be a distinct social retrogression, indicating a degeneration in our social and political methods, judged by this scientific and evolutionary test. It would substitute a new militant ideal in place of that conception of the just sphere and basis of government which has been our best heritage from the Fathers, and it would be only a question of time for this ideal to effect an entire transformation of our political and industrial life into the image of the Old World insti-

¹ This particular phase of the subject has been previously treated by the writer in an article on "The Relation of Biology to Sociology," *Popular Science Monthly*, June, 1892.

tutions which the Fathers deliberately contemned and rejected. Social science based upon the doctrine of evolution says that the Kingdom of God cannot come by violence. Revolutions, wars, standing armies, navies which are a menace to other nations, are no part of the machinery of the ideal social state: they are reversionary survivals of the method of brute conflict which prevails on the lower animal plane, and are justified in the imperfect civilization of the present day only to the extent to which they are absolutely necessary for defensive and police purposes. Beyond this limit they are at once unscientific, immoral and uneconomical.

Instead of creating new antagonisms in the world of thought, the social ideal thus outlined and prefigured by the scientific method mediates between apparently antithetical and opposing systems, and recognizes that which has permanent value in each. Thus, while it opposes the *method* of Socialism in all its coercive and communistic features — its tendencies to political centralization and government interference with the liberty of the individual; while its own appeal is directly to the conscience and intelligence of the individual, — it nevertheless recognizes the fact that the rational end of all society evolution is more perfect social integration. As we approach nearer and nearer to an ideal social state, the individual will depend for the satisfaction of his wants more and more upon the combined activities of other individuals. To these combined activities, however, the contribution of each will ultimately be wholly voluntary, impelled by a conviction that his own interest is identical with that of the community in general. With this ideal kept steadily in view, laws should be so adjusted that those only shall feel them as a burden, restraint, or compulsory incentive to action, whose aims are dominantly selfish and whose actions would violate the equal rights and privileges of their neighbors. Thus the inner constraint of ethical motive will gradually supplant external compulsion in the government of society.

That the principle of competition which has thus far been the mainspring of social and industrial progress will ever be wholly eliminated is not probable, nor does it seem desirable. Rationally regulated and devoted to just ends, it will survive as emulation to render the most skilful and efficient service in return for a just and adequate compensation. The egoistic faculties lie at the very foundation of the vital energies of society as well as of the

individual,— of existence itself, indeed,— and their rational exercise and conservation are therefore essential to the welfare of mankind. The tendency of human progress, however, will be toward a condition of progressive social integration, wherein a due balance will be maintained between altruistic and egoistic activities, and wherein both, wisely directed, will ultimate in common social ends.

While the higher synthesis of a social science based on the evolution-philosophy thus harmonizes the essential truths of individualism and socialism under the form of a Brotherhood of Consent, it points also to the significant fact that this harmony can only be completely realized by the submission of the individual to the mandates of the inexorable moral law. The individual liberty involved in the conception of a Brotherhood of Consent is no unrestrained libertinism of personal action; it is *freedom to obey law*—a freedom only to do that which is right and just and equitable. And the ethical obligations which are thus imposed upon individuals are, by this conception, also made obligatory upon the collective action of individuals which constitutes the State. The ideals of a people are to a large degree objectified in legislation and governmental administration. The men to whom we commit this sacred trust should therefore be of the highest character and firmly centered in the noblest principles and ideals of popular government—men who will listen to the voice of principle and conscience rather than to popular clamor and the demands of a short-sighted commercial greed; whose intent purpose will be to stand erect, catch the accents of divine justice from above, and preserve the people's inheritance, if need be, even against the blind assaults of a misguided majority, rather than crouch with ears to the ground, ready to barter the birthright of freedom for a mess of Old World imperialistic pottage, if the surging mob-spirit, backed by an unholy greed of gain, shall seem to give assent to the mistaken policy.

The laws of conduct, in the collective activities of the State no less than in the life of the individual, are no mere conventions of time and place; they are “necessary consequences of the constitution of things.” They are seen to have been operative throughout all stages of moral and social evolution, even the lowest. Conditions precedent to all progress, they have, by the enforcement of their penalties even upon the ignorant violators

of their behests, compelled man to recognize their imperative nature, created in him a conscience sensitive to the requirements of duty, and thus served as school-masters to inform him of his obligations as man and citizen. Since the laws of conduct are seen to be as natural and imperative as the laws of gravity, cohesion and chemical affinity; since, like these laws of the physical universe, they are not to be regarded as arbitrarily imposed conditions on human action, but rather as the modes whereby an Energy immanent in all phenomena is manifested in the ordering of conduct, the government of the Ideal State will manifestly be at once theocratic and democratic, as it is also at once socialistic and individualistic.

In a Brotherhood of Consent, cemented by the wisely allied attractive forces of affection and self-interest, the individual members will thus be conscious seekers for unity with the Infinite Source of all order, beauty, law and beneficence — the sole Eternal Reality amid the shifting scenes of this world of transitory phenomena. Not by compulsion, but by a divine impulsion, must men and women be drawn to this obedience. They must be inspired by the loftiest ideals, led not by stress of duty regarded as "necessitation to an end unwillingly adopted," but by the joy of willing service, before the ideal social conditions will begin to be realized upon the earth.

Afar off yet, say you, is this Kingdom of Heaven — this City of the Light? The rising sun of the year 2000 will hardly be reflected from its golden spires into the wondering eyes and grateful hearts of a glad and free humanity. Unless we prove faithful to the sacred trust received from the Fathers, ours in America it will not be to lead the world into this region of millennial hopes. When M. Guizot asked James Russell Lowell, "How long will the American Republic endure?" he received the wise and significant reply, "So long as the ideas of its founders continue to be dominant." So long, indeed, and not one moment longer. Let us not blind our eyes to the solemn truth. But though we prove recreant, ideals founded in righteousness and love will not perish. The flag of international peace, spurned by the American Senate, is caught up already by the Czar of all the Russias, and his word, whatever his motive, noblest yet spoken by a ruler of men, shall live immortal in the pages of history, and glow as a noble ideal among the stars of prophecy until the nations own the power and seek the beneficent

effulgence of its light. And so, if we scorn the birthright of the Fathers, another people will be found who will clasp it to their hearts and lead the world to victory under its banner. Listen to the voice of England's great prophet: "Hast thou considered how Thought is stronger than Artillery-parks, and (were it fifty years after death and martyrdom, or two thousand years) writes and unwrites Acts of Parliament, removes mountains, models the world like soft clay? Also, how the beginning of all Thought worthy the name is Love?"¹

We have the truth yet to learn—from science and history, if we will; from hard experience, if we must—that Ideals are more powerful than Idols, though they be cased in triple-plated steel and speak destruction from a thousand brazen throats. We have yet to learn, though it shames a true American heart to confess it, that by peaceful federation alone, with local autonomy and self-government, can the brotherhood of nations be achieved and the girdle of civilization be clasped around the earth. Afar off yet, indeed, is this Kingdom of Heaven; but, be it far away or near at hand, it is an ideal worth hoping for, praying for, striving for with all our mind and soul and strength, that this generation may take some firm and irrevocable steps thitherward. So doing, it will live forever blessed in the hearts and memories of its children and its children's children.

¹ Carlyle: "The French Revolution."

APPENDIX.

I.

AN AMERICAN POLICY.

THE advocates of territorial expansion and the imperialistic propaganda assert that its opponents have no definite policy for the disposal of the islands relinquished by Spain, and ask, in view of the actual results of the war, what we propose to do about it?

The question is a fair one, though, generally speaking, the onus of explanation and the definition of policies rests with those who propose a revolutionary change in the traditional principles which have governed us heretofore, rather than upon those who stand by the old American doctrines. What the opponents of imperialism favor should be readily inferred from the statement of what they think ought not to be done. Recognizing the actual changes that have been effected by the war, the obvious obligations of our government, consistent with the American principle that "all just government rests on the consent of the governed," would seem to be:

1. To carry out the solemn pledge made to the world with respect to Cuba, and retain military possession only long enough to enable the Cubans to organize a government of their own. This does not imply the continuance of military occupation for several years, or an indefinite period. A few months, at most, should witness the withdrawal of every United States soldier, and the complete relinquishment of Cuba into the hands of its own citizens. After that, it should remain absolutely free and independent. We have no right to insist that our own, or any particular form of government, shall be adopted by the Cubans, or to impose qualifications for citizenship upon them. The people of Cuba should be left to work out their own political salvation, as we have done, and as Mexico, Haiti, and the Central and South American Republics are doing. For this course we

have ample precedent in our attitude toward Mexico, Haiti, Peru and Venezuela.

2. The people of Porto Rico should also be allowed freely to elect whether they will become a part of the United States, or maintain an independent government. If, as now seems probable, they should prefer to unite their fortunes with ours, they should be guaranteed at once the full right of local self-government, free from military dictation, and territorial representation in the Congress of the United States. No inhabited territory should be acquired by this government which cannot be so treated, and ultimately be received into our family of States.

3. Our relations to Cuba and Porto Rico — unless the latter should be received as a self-governing territory — should henceforth be such as befit neighboring friendly nations, and as are implied in the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine. If, at some future day, they should with reasonable unanimity freely elect to become a part of the United States, and we should deem them worthy of complete assimilation into our body politic, such a consummation would not be in contradiction with our professed principles of government.

4. Our policy in the Philippines should be identical with that to which we are pledged in Cuba. At the earliest possible moment, within a few months at most, we should withdraw our army and leave the islands in possession of their own people, who should be permitted to establish a government, or governments, adapted to their social, religious and industrial needs. They should be free to work out their own political salvation, with such treaty guarantees of protection as may be necessary to preserve them from the rapacity of the European powers. In these guarantees, we might not improperly ask the co-operation of some of the European nations.

Under no circumstances should the Philippines, or any distant territory inhabited by an alien and semi-civilized population, be retained as a permanent colonial possession of the United States.

5. The treaty of Paris should be amended so as to relieve us from the responsibility of assuming even temporary sovereignty in the Philippines. If it should be ratified without amendment, we may rightfully ask of the Philippines the repayment of the money paid to Spain. Such limited possessions as we may require, there or elsewhere, for coaling stations may be secured

by treaty stipulations, and should not involve the assumption of sovereignty over the native population. The present situation also offers opportunity for such mutually advantageous commercial relations in the Philippines and elsewhere as may be secured by treaty, with due regard for the rights of other nations. All the assumed advantages to be derived from annexation could thus be assured without a tithe of the expense involved in the maintenance of permanent colonial dependencies, and without violating or discarding the principle that "all just government rests on the consent of the governed."

6. Spain having relinquished all these possessions as a result of the war, none of them should be returned to her, or traded to other European powers, without the free consent of their native inhabitants.

Since writing the above, I have received from Hon. Charles Francis Adams a copy of his noble defence of the policy of the Fathers, in his recent address on "Imperialism and the Tracks of the Forefathers," before the Lexington Historical Society.¹ In a supplementary letter to Hon. Carl Schurz, printed with this address, Mr. Adams outlines an American policy of "Hands Off!" for Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines, quite consistent with the plan which I have above indicated. The gratitude of all true Americans is due to the great-grandson of John Adams for so clearly presenting the historical aspects of this problem.

¹ Published by Dana Estes & Co., Boston.

II.

DANGER SIGNALS.

A FEW quotations from the recent utterances of prominent advocates of territorial expansion and the imperialistic policy will emphasize and illustrate the revolutionary attitude of the new movement, and the great peril in which our American experiment of a "government of the people, by the people, for the people" is placed by its advocacy. These utterances need no commentary.

"We have the English feeling with us. As I discovered in returning from the tropics they were very grateful that we were going to extend our Colonial system, and they assured us that we could not let go of anything that we had. A great many people have insisted that the Constitution forbids it. To these I have said, 'We have outgrown the Constitution. It is not worth while to discuss it. We are here, and we are here to stay.'"—Gen. WESLEY MERRITT, at dinner of the New England Society, New York, Dec. 21, 1898.

"When questioned regarding the Cubans in the matter of American occupation and their aspirations regarding the establishment of a government of their own, Admiral SAMPSON said: 'In the first place it does not make any difference whether the Cubans prove amenable to the sovereignty of this Government or not. We are there. We intend to rule, and that is all there is of it.'"—Interview in *New York Times*, Dec. 24, 1898.

Major-General SHAFTER, speaking at a meeting of the Young Men's Club, in the New York Avenue Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C., Jan. 11, 1899, said he thought a military government was the only form of government the people of the Philippines would respect. . . . He was satisfied there would be a fight, and the sooner it would come, he thought, the better it would be for the situation generally. "My plan would be," he said, "to disarm the natives in the Philippine Islands, even if

we kill half of them in doing it. Then I would treat the rest of them with perfect justice."—*Boston Herald* dispatch, Jan. 12, 1899.

[“The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.”—*Constitution of the United States.*]

“I cannot see how we can help becoming ultimate owners of Cuba. Our resolution to the contrary was a piece of sickly sentimentality. We went to war on account of the ‘Maine,’ and not for humanity’s sake.”—Congressman HULL, Chairman of House Committee on Military Affairs, Aug. 13, 1898.

“The Anglo-Saxon advances into the new regions with a Bible in one hand and a shot-gun in the other. The inhabitants of these regions that he cannot convert with the aid of the Bible and bring into his markets he gets rid of with the shot-gun. It is but another demonstration of the survival of the fittest.”—Congressman SULLOWAY, Nov. 22, 1898.

“Our declaration relative to Cuba makes no difference when put alongside of our duties.”—Congressman J. G. CANNON, Chairman House Committee on Appropriations, Nov. 23, 1898.

“We will hold Cuba until the people there wake up to the realization that their greatest security and prosperity lie in annexation to this country.”—Senator MORGAN, Oct. 29, 1898.

“The United States must hold permanently, not only Hawaii, but also Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines.”—Retired Rear-Admiral BELKNAP, at dinner of the Massachusetts Club, Boston, May, 1898.

[The demand of Admiral Belknap was endorsed by Retired Rear-Admiral Kimberly, at the same time and place.]

“We must govern the people of Porto Rico and the Philippines as we have governed the American Indians.”—Senator MORGAN, in published interview.

“We must hold our new possessions under military government.”—Capt. MAHAN, Author of “The Influence of Sea Power on History,” etc.

"No public duty is more urgent than to resist from the outset" any idea of admitting Hawaii, Porto Rico, Cuba or the Philippines to the Union.—From an utterly cold-blooded and un-American article by Peace Commissioner WHITELAW REID, in the September *Century*.

Any American who wishes to see clearly whither we are drifting should read the article just referred to, and also one by Professor John Bach McMaster, in the December *Forum*.

In the latter article, Professor McMaster maintains, in the interest of imperialism, that "foreign soil acquired by Congress is the property of and not a part of the United States; that the territories formed from it are without, and not under the Constitution; and that in providing them with governments Congress is at liberty to establish just such kind as it pleases, with little or no regard for the principles of self-government; . . . and that it is under no obligation to grant even a restricted suffrage to the inhabitants of any new soil we may acquire, unless they are fit to use it properly." Of this fitness, of course, we and not they are to be the judges.

These amazing propositions of the historian of "the American People" (*sic*) have been effectually refuted by Mr. Myron E. Pierce, in a letter to the *Boston Herald*, dated Dec. 13, 1898. Mr. Pierce shows by references to repeated decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States that the powers of Congress and the people over the territories are limited by the provisions of the Constitution in defence of the personal and political rights of the inhabitants, as guaranteed in the States.

Dr. H. H. Powers, professor of economics in Leland Stanford, Jr., University, defending territorial expansion, declares that "It needs no prophet to foretell the end of the man or nation whose susceptibilities are not the servants of his interests."

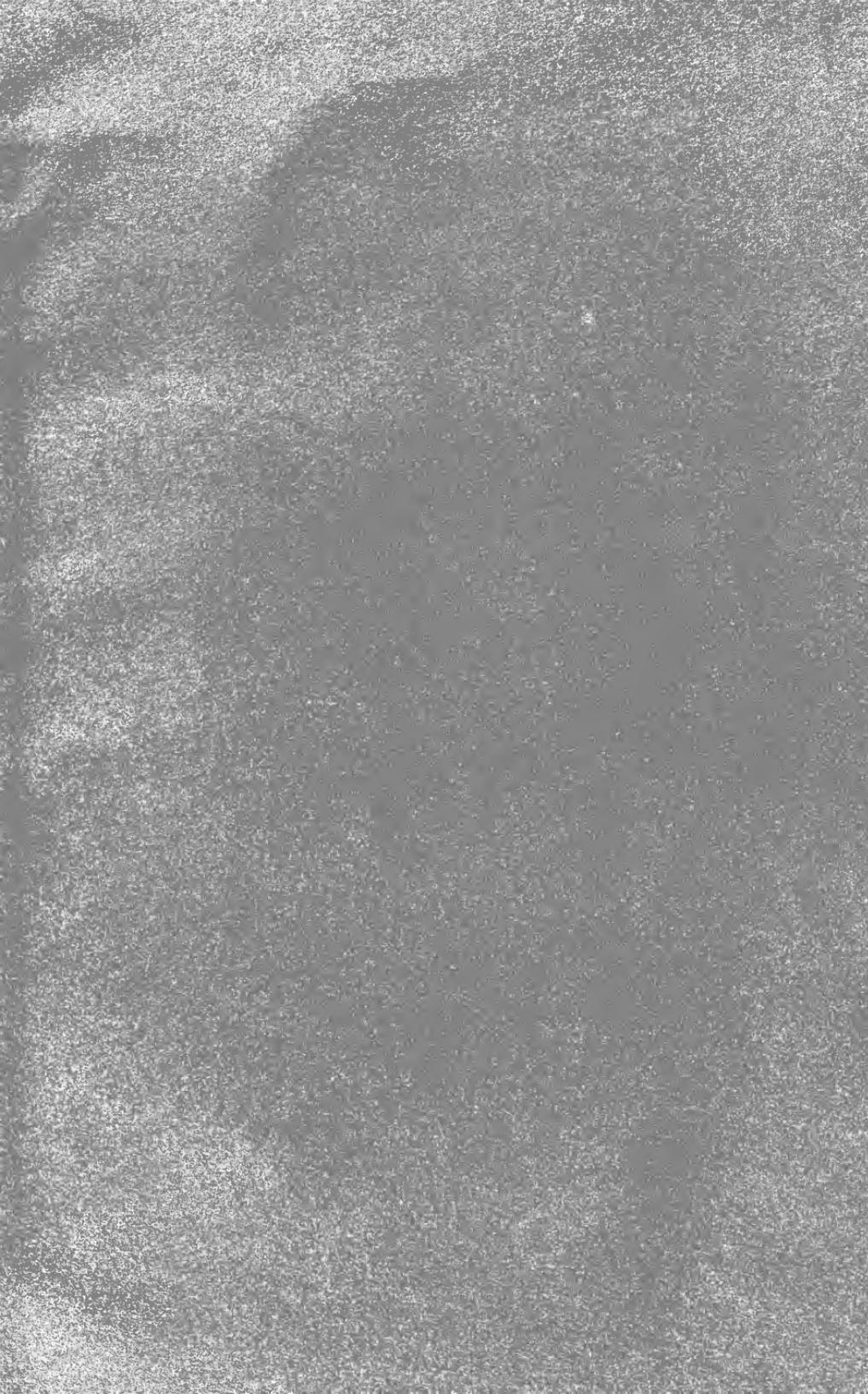
Professor F. Spencer Baldwin, of the Boston University, who disclaims being an expansionist because he "cannot see that any substantial gain to the American nation in particular or to mankind in general is likely to result from the proposed policy," affirms that the issue raised by imperialism is to be decided by arguments "based flatly on the ground of material interests." Professor Baldwin further declares that "The most of the arguments used against the so-called policy of imperialism I regard as academic and impracticable. An appeal is made to

tradition and the views of Washington. But these only mean that in other times and under other conditions other views have been held. Moreover, the claims of its unconstitutionality and its essential disagreement with the Declaration of Independence do not seem to me well taken. As for the latter, it at all events is but a piece of eighteenth-century philosophy which is no longer regarded as applicable to the concrete." "The framers of the Declaration of Independence," he says, "were not plenarily inspired. Their doctrines of human rights will not decide present problems. . . . Expansionism cannot be conjured away by the mere flourish of an ancient parchment."—Letter in *Boston Transcript*.

The *Boston Herald*, with all the enthusiasm of a recent convert to the imperialistic policy, is not only willing to throw the Declaration of Independence overboard; it also advocates discarding the other distinctively American doctrine of the separation of Church and State, in our government of the Philippines and Porto Rico. The inhabitants of these islands are accustomed to a State Church, it argues. If we discontinue the establishment of the Roman Catholic Church we shall find the government of the people much more difficult. *Ergo*, continue the establishment. *Facilis descensus Averni!*

Similar quotations from imperialistic literature could be indefinitely multiplied.

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